

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 02669 01 OF 03 041322Z
ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3377
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 NATO 02669

LONDON ALSO FOR A/COUNS AND WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC
SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE REVISED INTERIM DRAFT

REF: (A) USNATO 2532 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 99554 (NOTAL),
(C) STATE 93407 (NOTAL)

THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A REVISED INTERIM DRAFT COMMUNIQUE, WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF HAS PREPARED TO REFLECT DISCUSSION AT MAY 3 SPC MEETING. OUR COMMENTS ON THIS TEXT ARE CONTAINED SEPTELS.
NOTE: THROUGHOUT THIS TEXT EXISTING BRACKETS ARE INDICATED BY PARENTHESES.

BEGIN TEXT: 4TH MAY 1977. INTERIM DRAFT. DRAFT COMMUNIQUE.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MET IN LONDON ON 10TH AND 11TH MAY, 1977 WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT.

2. THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM THAT THE ESSENTIAL PURPOSE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 02669 01 OF 03 041322Z

OF THE ALLIANCE IS TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY OF ITS MEMBERS, TO PROMOTE THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, AND TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE CREATION OF A LASTING STRUCTURE OF PEACE. THE ALLIES ARE FIRMLY RESOLVED TO MAINTAIN, AND, WHERE NECESSARY, ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE TIES WHICH UNITE

THEM.

3. ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN RECENT YEARS, ELEMENTS OF INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY PERSIST. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE CONTINUING GROWTH IN THE STRENGTH OF OFFENSIVE CAPABILITIES OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ALLIES RESOLVE TO TAKE THOSE DEFENCE MEASURES THAT MAY BE REQUIRED TO DETER CONFLICT AND TO DEFEND THEIR FREEDOM, AND TO STRENGTHEN THEIR MUTUAL SUPPORT EFFORTS AND CO-OPERATION.

EITHER (THE ALLIES AGREE THAT THE CLOSEST CO-OPERATION IS NEEDED SO THAT RESOURCES FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENCE ARE USED MOST EFFICIENTLY. THUS, THEY ARE DETERMINED TO WORK TOGETHER ON RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION AND ON PROCUREMENT OF DEFENCE EQUIPMENT FOR USE BY THE ALLIED STATES. THE MEANS OF DEEPENING THIS CO-OPERATION AMONG ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BE REVIEWED IN APPROPRIATE FORA, WHILE BUILDING ON THE JOINT ACTIONS OF MEMBER STATES ALREADY BEING TAKEN IN THE FIELD. TO THIS END, DEFENSE MINISTERS WERE REQUESTED....)

OR (THE ALLIES AGREE THAT THE CLOSEST CO-OPERATION IS NEEDED SO THAT RESOURCES FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENCE ARE USED MOST EFFICIENTLY. IN ORDER TO MAKE MOST EFFECTIVE AND ECONOMIC USE OF RESOURCES, THE ALLIED LEADERS ARE DETERMINED TO WORK MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER ON DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION, AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENCE EQUIPMENT FOR USE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 02669 01 OF 03 041322Z

BY ALLIED STATES. THE MEANS OF DEEPENING THIS CO-OPERATION, BOTH WITHIN EUROPE AND BETWEEN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, SHOULD BE REVIEWED IN APPROPRIATE FORUMS, WHILE BUILDING ON THE JOINT ACTIONS OF MEMBER STATES ALREADY BEING TAKEN IN THE FIELD.

LEADERS OF STATES TAKING PART IN THE INTEGRATED DEFENCE STRUCTURE OF THE ALLIANCE DIRECTED THEIR DEFENSE MINISTERS TO DEVELOP A LONG-TERM PLAN TO PREPARE THE ALLIANCE TO MEET CHANGING DEFENCE NEEDS OF THE 1980S AND TO REVIEW THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ALLIANCE IMPLEMENTS ITS DEFENCE PROGRAMS TO ENSURE MORE EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-THROUGH.)

OR (THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP THEIR ARMS PRODUCTION CO-OPERATION IN THE DIFFERENT APPROPRIATE BODIES. THEIR AIM IS TO ACHIEVE THE MOST EFFECTIVE USE OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PRESERVING AND PROMOTING IN EUROPE A STRONG INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY, WHICH IS ESSENTIAL

FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENCE.)

4. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY REAFFIRM THEIR CONVICTION THAT SECURITY IN EUROPE AND IN THE WORLD, WITHOUT WHICH DETENTE COULD NOT PRODUCE ITS BENEFICIAL EFFECTS, CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY STATEMENTS OF INTENT, BUT REQUIRES CONCRETE AND REALISTIC EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS THROUGH EQUITABLE AND BALANCED MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL. THEY WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE TOWARD THIS GOAL IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH ALLIED SECURITY, WHILE

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 NATO 02669 02 OF 03 041331Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SS-15 PM-04 SP-02 L-03
NSC-05 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00
INRE-00 SSO-00 A-01 /050 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3378
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 NATO 02669

RECOGNIZING THAT PROGRESS ALSO DEPENDS ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN STATES. IN PARTICULAR, THE ALLIES WARMLY WELCOME THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION TO LIMIT AND REDUCE STRATEGIC ARMS, HAVING IN MIND ALLIED INTERESTS.

WITH RESPECT TO MBFR, THE ALLIES CONCERNED EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE GOAL OF WHICH IS (TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE) OR (TO ENSURE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES). THEY CALL FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE ADDITIONAL OFFER THEY MADE TO THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES IN DECEMBER 1975, AND REAFFIRM THEIR OVERALL OBJECTIVE OF ESTABLISHING APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES IN THE FORM OF A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING (AND THE REDUCTION OF THE DISPARITY IN TANKS).

5. THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE ALLIANCE, IN

ADDITION TO ENHANCING GLOBAL STABILITY, ALSO PROVIDES THE STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE THAT ENABLES THE ALLIES TO PERSEVERE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO LESSEN THE TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND TO INCREASE PROGRESSIVELY THE AREAS OF CO-OPERATION. (TO HELP THEM IN THIS EFFORT) OR (WITH CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 02669 02 OF 03 041331Z

THIS IN VIEW) THE ALLIED LEADERS REQUESTED THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION TO (STUDY) (MAKE A FRESH STUDY OF) LONG-TERM TRENDS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND TO ASSESS THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE TRENDS FOR THE ROLE OF THE ALLIANCE. PROGRESS IN REDUCING EAST-WEST TENSION WILL DEPEND ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH ALL CONCERNED SHOW MODERATION AND SELF-RESTRAINT BOTH IN EUROPE AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. (BERLIN)

6. THE ALLIES STRESS THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THE IMPLEMENTATION BY THE CSCE SIGNATORY STATES OF ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. (THEY WELCOME THE STEPS THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN TOWARDS THIS END, BUT NOTE THAT IN A NUMBER OF FIELDS PROGRESS HAS BEEN UNSATISFACTORY. MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE BEFORE THE FINAL ACT CAN BE REGARDED AS FULLY EFFECTIVE BOTH IN INTER-STATE RELATIONS AND IN THE LIVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.) (PROGRESS THUS FAR HAS ONLY BEEN LIMITED. MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE TO ACHIEVE GOALS TO WHICH THIRTY-FIVE STATES COMMITTED THEMSELVES AT HELSINKI, AND TO REALIZE THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PEOPLE.) OR (THEY WELCOME THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN CERTAIN FIELDS COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT, BUT UNDERLINE THAT MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE IF THE POTENTIAL OF THE FINAL ACT IS TO BE REALISED BOTH IN TERMS OF INTER-STATE RELATIONS AND ALSO IN THE LIVES OF THE INHABITANTS OF ALL THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED.)

(THE FORTHCOMING BELGRADE MEETING WILL PROVIDE A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY FOR A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, AND FOR AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON WAYS OF DEVELOPING THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN THE FUTURE.) OR (THE FORTHCOMING BELGRADE MEETING WILL PROVIDE A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY FOR A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, AND FOR CONSIDERING HOW TO ACHIEVE FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE PART OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. TO THIS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 02669 02 OF 03 041331Z

END THE BELGRADE MEETING COULD CONSIDER A LIMITED NUMBER

OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS RELATED TO PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT AND TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF CO-OPERATION AMONG SIGNATORIES.) AT THAT MEETING THE ALLIES (WILL PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AND) WILL SEEK AN OUTCOME WHICH WILL PROMOTE BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING STATES AND BE BENEFICIAL TO ALL THEIR PEOPLES.

7. ((THE ALLIES RECOGNISE (AS WHOLLY LEGITIMATE) THE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT (GENUINE) RESPECT FOR THESE RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COMMITMENTS ACCEPTED BY GOVERNMENTS IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS INCLUDING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, IS ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE (AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS) (, FRIENDSHIP) AND CO-OPERATION (BETWEEN STATES.) (AMONG NATIONS.))

OR (7. THE ALLIES ENDORSE AND SYMPATHIZE WITH THE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO ACHIEVE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS AS SET OUT IN THE CHARTER OF THE UN AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS INCLUDING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS RECOGNIZED IN THE FINAL ACT AS ESSENTIAL FOR PEACE AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES.)

(7 BIS. EACH ALLIED COUNTRY ACKNOWLEDGES THE DUTY TO

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 NATO 02669 03 OF 03 041332Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SS-15 PM-04 SP-02 L-03
NSC-05 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00
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-----041444Z 126379 /40

O 041259Z MAY 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3379
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 NATO 02669

HELP THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF

ALL THAT EVERY COUNTRY BENEFIT FROM TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC
PROGRESS IN AN OPEN AND EQUITABLE WORLD SYSTEM.)

8. (RECOGNIZING THE VITALITY AND VIGOUR SHOWN BY THE
ALLIANCE OVER THE YEARS, THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM
THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THEIR CLOSE
ASSOCIATION AND COHESION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NORTH
ATLANTIC TREATY.)

OR (THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE
ALLIANCE AND TO THEIR CLOSE ASSOCIATION IN ACCORDANCE
WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC
TREATY. ON THAT FIRM FOUNDATION THEY WILL PERSEVERE IN
THE TASK OF BUILDING A MORE JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD.)

(THE FOLLOWING IDEAS WERE ALSO SUGGESTED FOR INCLUSION IN
THIS PARAGRAPH.)

- CONSCIOUS OF THEIR FUNDAMENTAL COMMON OBJECTIVES AS LAID
DOWN IN THE TREATY, ALLIED LEADERS AFFIRMED THE VITAL
IMPORTANCE OF ALLIED COHESION AND UNITY OF PURPOSE, AS THE
BEST SAFEGUARD FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY, AND FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND LIBERTY.
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PAGE 02 NATO 02669 03 OF 03 041332Z

- THE ALLIANCE WHICH HAS PROVED ITS VALUE FOR MORE THAN
A QUARTER CENTURY, IS AN INDISPENSABLE BASIS FOR DETER-
RING ANY THREAT TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC REGION AND FOR
PURSUING DETENTE AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.
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